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## Polish–Romanian Bilingualism: An Individual and Social Process

### Abstract

The aim of this article is to present issues pertaining to Polish–Romanian bilingualism, based on the example of two speakers who can be seen as representative of both the geographical area in focus and of their respective language communities. The interviewees were born in the 1950s and they have lived in Romania, with Romanian as the official language, all their lives. The common denominator of their cases is the family domain and the domain of religion. Both interviewees were born in Polish families in which the home language was Polish.

The language experience of the interviewees has been different: one of them played with Romanian- and Ukrainian-speaking children, while the other grew up in the environment of the Polish dialect of Bukovinian highlanders in Solonețu Nou (Pol. Nowy Soloniec). However, neither of them spoke a language other than Polish on a daily basis during their preschool period. Their language repertoire was enriched with Romanian during their school period and the following periods of their lives mainly involved the use of Romanian. Their retirement has been a time of great change, including the rebirth of the life of the Polish minority. One of the interviewees is the leader of the local Polish association while the other is a member of a folk group of Polish Bukovinian highlanders and is involved in the life of the local Polish community and the activities of the Polish Cultural Centre (Dom Polski) in Suceava. In the domestic sphere, one of them still speaks Polish, while in the case of the other the language of the domestic sphere is Romanian. Both informants have a very high sense of Polish identity and appreciate the language codes they use: Polish and Romanian.

**Keywords:** Polish–Romanian bilingualism; multilingualism; Polish minority in Romania; individual bilingualism; social bilingualism

## 1 Introduction

The aim of this article is to present issues pertaining to Polish–Romanian bilingualism, based on the example of two speakers from Romania. Their language behaviours and their biographies can be seen as representative of the geographical area in focus and of their respective language communities. The classification of Polish dialects in the region of Bukovina is discussed in the study *Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa* [A Testimony to a Vanishing Heritage] (Krasowska et al., 2018).

As it stands today, multilingualism is a global phenomenon and one that varies greatly. This not only makes it a highly relevant issue, but also means that the description of specific processes it involves is still not exhaustive.

## 2 Research on Bilingualism

The Polish scholar Władysław Miodunka draws attention to bilingualism as a social phenomenon: “In general, the concept of bilingualism is understood as a language situation in which speakers interchangeably use two different languages depending on the environment or setting. It is therefore the most common case of multilingualism” (Miodunka, 2003, p. 69). He also notes that bilingualism involves “a set of linguistic, psychological and social problems faced by speakers who in one part of their communication have to use a language that is not accepted outside the group [their group], and in another part – an official language or a language that is generally accepted” (Miodunka, 2003, p. 69). Therefore, when considering issues of bilingualism, what should be taken into account more broadly is the social context. Academic literature identifies individual bi- and multilingualism, which depend on particular language users and various life situations; another factor at play is the social context in which the individual functions, including the socio-political situation that affects the acquisition of another language / other languages as a result of migration and changing one’s place of residence.

The theoretical foundations of the study of bilingualism are discussed by Michał Głuszkowski in his *Socjologia w badaniach dwujęzyczności* [Sociology in Research on Bilingualism], which also includes a review of selected works devoted to this issue (Głuszkowski, 2013). The number of studies on bilingualism and multilingualism, which bring new, important findings, is growing every year both in Poland and worldwide. The use of Polish in the historical *Kresy* (the former eastern borderlands of Poland) is approached somewhat stereotypically and described separately from the use of Polish among the Polish diaspora in Western Europe, the Americas, Australia, Asia or Africa. An overview of knowledge on the topic can be found in the study *Nauczanie i promocja języka polskiego w świecie* [The Teaching and Promotion of Polish Abroad], authored by a team of experts commissioned by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Miodunka et al., 2018). The following observation they make reflects on the significance of multilingualism and its dimensions in the adult life of an individual:

Bilingualism is a gift that can simply be “offered” to emigrant children. For both languages to develop, we need a school where we learn about the world through language. Children have to attend a local school (in the country of residence), but parents need to be made aware that by not sending them to a Polish school they limit their language development in Polish. They do not always realise that their own language development was mainly due to education. Therefore, it is extremely important to shape a positive attitude of parents towards education in Polish. As such, then, well thought-out actions addressed to parents are required, showing both the value and the importance and functions of education in Polish abroad, especially in the context of possible remigration. (Miodunka et al., 2018, p. 39)

Research on Polish-foreign bilingualism and multilingualism has developed significantly since 2000. There have been almost twenty monographs and hundreds of academic articles devoted to Polish-foreign bilingualism in a number of countries, including Australia, Argentina, Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Romania and Ukraine. One of the first monographs on the topic is *Bilingwizm polsko-portugalski w Brazylii* [Polish-Portuguese Bilingualism in Brazil] by Miodunka (Miodunka, 2003). Considering his perspective, he writes that his study can be seen “firstly, as a work on the Polish language abroad; secondly, as an attempt to describe bilingualism; and finally as a different view of the Polish language used in Brazil” (Miodunka, 2003). The conclusions he makes are important and useful also for the present research:

If we take into account the variability of the degree of command of each of the skills in both languages, we can only talk about the genetically first and second language. In addition, we must remember that these languages, whose use is the essence of bilingualism, are two codes in a state of constant evolution – both at the internal and structural level, as well as at the level of command of particular skills and the ability to use them in various situations. (Miodunka, 2003, p. 275)

The study of Polish–Swedish bilingualism by Roman Laskowski provides a picture of the social conditions of maintaining the language and culture of one’s parents by the second generation of migrants (Laskowski, 2009). The topic of Polish–French bilingualism, in turn, is presented extensively by Krystyna Wróblewska-Pawlak (Wróblewska-Pawlak, 2004). A study authored by Robert Dębski analyses English–Polish bilingualism in Australia (Dębski, 2009). Writing on the results of her research on the bilingualism, education and adaptation problems of Poles in Australia, Ewa Lipińska observes that “what needs to be clearly stressed is the temporary and/or unstable nature of the described phenomenon of bilingualism: its ‘processuality’ and the key role of maintaining an adequate level of Polish (and not mastering English)” (Lipińska, 2013, p. 162). Issues of Polish–German bilingualism are presented in the studies by Jadwiga Cieszyńska and Katarzyna Kainacher (Cieszyńska, 2006; Kainacher, 2007). Considering the same field, Hanna Pułaczewska draws attention to the factors that influence the attitudes and decisions of parents (Pułaczewska, 2017). It is also worth noting a study by Anna Żurek, summarising the research conducted so far on the Polish language of early bilingual speakers, and investigating Polish–German bilingualism in the second generation of Polish emigrants in Germany (Żurek, 2018). Issues of bilingualism and multilingualism are also discussed by Elżbieta Sękowska in *Język emigracji polskiej w świecie* [The Language of the Polish Emigration] (Sękowska, 2010). The selected works listed here concern various areas of teaching Polish, including teaching Polish as a foreign, second and heritage language. Although the most developed of these is teaching Polish as a foreign language (Miodunka, 2020, p. 28), they all concern important issues of bi- and multilingualism.

It is worth noting the results of a study by Elżbieta Czykwin and Dorota Misiejuk which focuses on the bilingualism of Belarusians and Ukrainians in Poland and includes complex aspects of biculturalism (Czykwin & Misiejuk, 2002). Attention should also be drawn to a different stream of research, one investigating the teaching of Polish to children of foreigners in Poland, which ultimately leads to bilingualism. Writing on the teaching of Polish, Miodunka comments as follows:

As can be seen, the teaching of Polish as a second language as approached by P. E. Gębal is open to the results of social science research (sociology, psychology, pedagogy) and to the latest European trends in teaching foreign and second languages: intercultural education, multilingualism didactics, inclusive education and positive education. In his view, the glottodidactics of Polish should from now on deal with teaching Polish as a foreign, second and heritage language. (Miodunka, 2020, p. 24)

He also provides an extensive review of literature concerning Polish-foreign bilingualism in Poland and abroad (Miodunka, 2014, 2020).

Issues concerning the bilingualism of the Slovak minority in Romania and its linguistic identity are the subject of an in-depth monograph by Ianko Gubani (Gubani, 2020). His work includes the results of field studies conducted in 2014–2015 in the micro-community of Slovak–Romanian families in the country. As the monograph observes, living in a multicultural and multilingual environment gives rise to bilingualism, which is mainly due to the need for social interaction. True bilingualism (in this case, of Slovaks living in Romania) means that the first language that is acquired is the mother tongue, followed by the language of the majority. It often occurs that a third language is added to the repertoire of a speaker living in a linguistically mixed environment – usually the language of the strongest minority community in a given micro-region. Gubani analyses, among other issues, the frequency of alternation between two languages as communication tools, the speaker’s preference for a given language code when writing a personal journal, and speech in the preferred languages when expressing emotions (Gubani, 2020).

The results of the latest research on the grammatical difficulties faced by Ukrainians learning Polish are discussed by Dominika Izdebska-Długosz (Izdebska-Długosz, 2021). Research on Ukrainian–Polish bilingualism is discussed by Katarzyna Dzierżawin, who focuses on young Ukrainians studying in the Polish town of Przemyśl (Dzierżawin, 2009). A work that cannot be overlooked is the study of the trilingualism of Ukrainians living in Poland and Ukraine (Levchuk, 2015, 2019, 2020).

The present author's research on the bi- and multilingualism of Polish Bukovinian highlanders, in turn, indicates that the main topic worth stressing is the social aspect of the phenomenon (Krasowska, 2006, pp. 100–105). The issue of bilingualism, both social (group) and individual, is also reflected in the material collected by the present author in the course of fieldwork in eastern Ukraine. Polish interviewees in the region actively use two languages, Ukrainian and Russian, and the prestige of Polish is definitely lower. The results indicate that we can speak of their trilingualism rather than bilingualism, and that the patterns of becoming and functioning as a trilingual speaker depend on age group and place of birth (Krasowska, 2011, 2012, pp. 150–157). Likewise, the present author's research on the Polish minority in Moldova shows that Polish interviewees actively use two languages, Russian and Romanian, and the prestige of Polish is certainly lower. As in the case of eastern Ukraine, we can speak not of the bilingualism of Poles in this country, but of their trilingualism (Krasowska, 2018).

The patterns of becoming and functioning as a multilingual speaker vary and depend on age group, place of birth, places of residence in different periods of one's life, and the prestige and status of a given language in the period of the user's adolescence.

The phenomenon of bilingualism and multilingualism is extremely important in the study of individual speakers. It is often associated with biculturalism – growing up and functioning in different cultures. This will be discussed further below on the basis of two specific case studies.

### 3 Language Biography

When considering the Polish literature on the language biography method, it is worth noting the works of Michał Głuszkowski (2011), Władysław Miodunka (2016) and Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz (2017). Miodunka, discussing in detail the works on the role of language biographies in the study of Polish-foreign bilingualism among the Polish diaspora, points to the imperfections of this method, but also to its advantages (Miodunka, 2016, pp. 63–84). He presents “its positive sides as well as threats stemming from its use, and finally the findings – based on previous experiences presented by various researchers – concerning its most important features” (Miodunka, 2016, p. 50). He writes that “a typical language biography should contain two parts, both the narrative part, which tells us about life facts and interprets them, and the analytical part, which shows excerpts of oral and written statements and analyses interferences that can be noticed in them, as well as the phenomenon of code switching” (Miodunka, 2016, p. 81).

Language biographies are also the focus of studies conducted by other researchers. Anna Zielińska, for instance, investigates Polish-German bilingualism – “*Biografie językowe osób bilingwalnych z polsko-niemieckiego pogranicza*” [“Language Biographies of Bilingual Speakers from the Polish-German Borderland”] (Zielińska, 2018) and “*Biografie językowe w korpusie polsko-niemieckiego bilingwizmu*” [“Language Biographies in the Corpus of Polish-German Bilingualism”] (Zielińska, 2020). Pavlo Levchuk, in his study on the Ukrainian-Russian-Polish trilingualism of Ukrainian people of non-Polish descent, identifies six patterns of becoming and functioning as a trilingual speaker. Two of them are as follows: (1) Ukrainian as the first language, Russian as the second language, and Polish as the third language, learned after coming to Poland; (2) Russian as the first language, Ukrainian as the second language, learned during school education, and Polish as the third, learned independently in the course of higher education (Levchuk, 2020). His analysis considers interviewees born between the 1960s and 1990s in Ukraine (Levchuk, 2020, p. 199). Olena Pelekhata analyses the elements of language biographies of Poles in Ivano-Frankivsk. Considering their experience of living on the border of cultures and the context of historical and social processes, she proposes a classification of the biographies under discussion into four groups (Pelekhata, 2022). The present author writes more on the state of research on language biographies in the study entitled *Polacy między Donem, Dniestrem a Prutem: Biografie językowe* [The Poles Between the Don, the Dniester and the Prut: Language Biographies] (Krasowska, 2022).

## 4 The Multilingualism of the Informants

The study which provided material for the present discussion was conducted using individual in-depth interviews aiming to gain an insight into the informants' life stories, with a particular focus on the language/languages they have used. The open interview method gives the interviewee an opportunity to reflect on their use of language, and enables the researcher to assess their attitudes to the particular languages they use and their language awareness. The questions mainly concerned the informants' life stories, beginning with their early childhood, particularly the languages they used on a daily basis in the family home and in the neighbourhood. The following questions concerned their education and the learning of languages at school. There were also questions about the adult life of the interviewees and their immediate language environment; particular attention was paid to language in the sphere of private and community prayer. The informants of retirement age were also asked what language they spoke with their grandchildren and neighbours.

The material discussed in this article comes from interviews with two Polish–Romanian bilinguals, and is divided according to life stages as follows: (1) preschool period; (2) school period; (3) young adulthood; (4) adult life; (5) period of retirement. In each period, the relevant domains of language use taken into consideration include home, religion, education (school, further education), and the environment in which the interviewee functioned. It should be noted that in the case of both informants discussed here, the official language throughout their lives has been Romanian.

In order to preserve the original form of the statements and their linguistic form (grammar, style, syntax), and to make them accessible to a wider audience, an orthographic notation was adopted, taking into account the basic phonetic differences in relation to literary Polish. The English translation of quotations from the informants is provided in separate paragraphs below the original or in brackets.

Informant OH 1953 was born to a Polish family in Solonețu Nou (Pol. Nowy Soloniec), Romania, in 1953. His family had lived in this Polish mountain village for many generations, and his parents and grandparents had also been born there. His first language, inherited from his grandparents and parents, was the local dialect of Polish. His language of instruction at school was Romanian; from the first to the fourth grade (1960–1964) he had Polish classes, and from the fifth to the eighth grade (1964–1968) he also learned Russian. The basic communication code of his further education, vocational training and military service was Romanian. He married a Polish woman from Bulai (Pol. Bulaj), a village where the language of everyday communication was and still is Polish.

Informant JP 1952 was born to a Polish family in Vicșani (Pol. Wikszany), Romania, in 1952. His mother tongue was Polish and he learned Romanian at school. At school age, Romanian was also the language that more and more often served as the medium of communication with his peers. Later on, his military service and work in the Romanian-speaking environment required the use of Romanian on a daily basis. When he married a Romanian woman, Romanian became his home language and has been ever since. Today, he only speaks Polish with the oldest Polish residents of Vicșani, who gather around the local church, and with visitors from Poland; he also uses Polish for private prayer. In his case, all other spheres of life are served by the Romanian language.

### 4.1 Preschool Period

#### Home Language

OH 1953

*Dziadek był Niemiec po matce, a matka Polka. Po polsku gwarom naszom aż do szkoły. To w szkole się nauczyłem po rumuńsku. Wiedziałem jacy „poftim”, to znaczy ‘proszę’ po rumuńsku. W domu jacy my gwarili. Między nami, z dziećmi z rodzicami. Jak my się bawili to tak samo po naszemu, po solonczanśku jak my to gwarimy.*

My grandfather was German after his mother, and my mother was Polish. I [only] spoke our Polish dialect until I started school; that's where I learned Romanian. I only knew *poftim*, it means 'there you go' in Romanian. We only spoke the dialect at home; among ourselves, with children, with the parents. When we played, we spoke the same way, our "Sołoniec speech", as we say here.

JP 1952

*Od rodziców po polsku. Mama i tata. Tata się urodził w Bahrinesztach. Mama była Zofia Majewska z domu z 1924 roku. Jak tato umar ja miałem dwanaście rok i pół.*

[I learned Polish] from my parents; my mother and my father. My father was born in Bahrineszty [Rom. Bahrinești, Ukr. Bahrynivka; today in Ukraine]. My mother, Zofia, her maiden name was Majewska, was born in 1924. When my father died I was twelve and a half years old.

## Language of Religion

OH 1953

*Mama z babcią mnie nauczili „Ojcze Nasz” i „Zdrowaś” i „Anioleczku Stróżu mój”, a religie żeśmy robili w kościele. No w domu od małości my szycy modlili się po polsku i do teraz, bo my Polacy, to modliliśmy się po polsku.*

My mother and grandmother taught me "Our Father" and "Hail Mary" and "Angel of God", and we had religion lessons at the church. At home we all said prayers in Polish from when I was little and we still do because we're Polish, so we've been praying in Polish.

JP 1952

*Zawsze w domu było modlitwy po polsku, no jak to inaczej?*

We always said prayers in Polish at home, how else could it be?

## Language of the Environment

OH 1953

*W Sołoncu po solonczkańsku, my gwarili ze sumsiadami gwarom polskom. Jacy po solonczkańsku. Jachto przszel ktosika z Polski to my rozmawiali po polsku, bo w szkole my sie uczyli litieracki. A z dziećskami na ulicy my gwarili, jak my szli paść krowy, jak my sie bawili, jak my szli sie spuskać sankmi, s kijami, jak my szli kupać sie do stawu.*

In Sołoniec [Rom. Solonețu Nou] we spoke "Sołoniec speech"; we spoke with neighbours in the local dialect of Polish; only "Sołoniec speech". When there were visitors from Poland we spoke Polish, because we learned literary Polish at school. And with kids in the street we spoke the dialect, when we went to graze the cows, when we played, when we went sleighing or skiing, when we went for a swim in the pond.

JP 1952

*Sąsiadów miałem Rumunów, Ukraińców i wszyscy mówili po polsku. [...] W niedziele jak do kościoła, to pełny kościół był. Ale dużo domów już ni ma. Jest jeden dom, oni wyjechali do Polski, tera dwa tygodnie dzwoniłem, bo umarła, miała dziewięćdziesiąt lat.*

I had Romanian and Ukrainian neighbours and they all spoke Polish. [...] When we went to church on Sunday, it was full of people. But many houses are gone now. There's one like that – they moved to Poland; I called them two weeks ago because she died; she was ninety years old.

## 4.2 School Period

### Home Language

OH 1953

*W domu to my gwarili jacy po polsku, to gwarom. Z mamkom, z tatkiem, z babkom, z bratem, do siostry, no jacy po polsku sie gwarilo. Jak jech poszedl do szkoły to słowa nie wiedzialem po romunsku. Rodzice wiedzieli po romunsku, ale my nie.*

We only spoke Polish at home, [I mean] the dialect; with my mother, father, grandmother, brother and sister – we only spoke Polish. I didn't know a single word in Romanian when I went to school. Our parents knew Romanian, but we didn't.

JP\_1952

*Po polsku, po polsku, tak jak tu Polacy mówią i tak my w domu mówili.*

We spoke Polish, we spoke Polish as it's spoken by Poles here, and that's how we spoke at home.

## School Language

OH\_1953

*A w szkole jak my szli na pauze to po polsku, a na lekcjach to romunski. Mieli my nauczycielów Krzyżanowskiego, on Polak pochodził z Czernowiec. Polaka mieli, był nauczycielem od pierwszej do trzeciej klasy, nas uczył później go zmieniali. Robilem szkołę. Też jenzyk ruski uczyłem się, ale ja byłem ten najlepszy, wszystko wiedział i po rusku, i po polsku.*

At school, when we went out for a break we spoke Polish, and we used Romanian during the lessons. We had this teacher, [his name was] Krzyżanowski; he was Polish, he was originally from Czerniowce [Ukr. Chernivtsi]. We had a Polish teacher; he was our teacher from the first to the third grade and then he got replaced. I learned at school. I also learned Russian and I was the best – I understood everything in Russian and in Polish.

JP\_1952

*Jak poszedl ja do szkoły to ja nie znal po rumuńsku, wszysko po polsku. Tutej gdzie ta kapliczka, dzie Dom Polski, przez droge od Domu Polskiego. Dom, tam była szkoła, i tera szkoła tam. Sztery klasy trochy po polsku, a reszta po rumuńsku. No i sztery klasy, a reszte zrobil w Monastorach po rumuńsku. Wszysko co bylo w szkołach te wszystko po rumuńsku, nie, nie po polsku nic nie bylo. When I started school I didn't know Romanian; everything in Polish. By the shrine at the Dom Polski [Polish Cultural Centre], across the street from Dom Polski, there was a house that was a school; the school is there also today. [There were] four grades; there was a bit in Polish and the rest was in Romanian. So, [I did] four grades [here] and the rest I did in Monastory [Rom. Mănăstioara] in Romanian. Everything I did at school was in Romanian; no, there was nothing in Polish.*

## Language of Religion

OH\_1953

*Po polsku, z księdzem. W kościele się mówiło po polsku, a odprawiało sie po łacinie. A modlitwe i kazanie to po polsku ksiondz.*

[We spoke] Polish with the priest. We used Polish at the church, and Mass was said in Latin. And the prayers and the sermon was in Polish.

JP\_1952

*U nas w domu to modlitwy po polsku, a jak gdzie pójdzie po rumuńsku.*

At home we said prayers in Polish and if it was somewhere else it was in Romanian.

## Language of the Environment

OH\_1953

*A w Słońcu gwarili między sobą na ulicy, zawsze gwarili i jak jech pamiętom zawsze gwarili, no z naszymi z Majdanu z Ukraińcami my też gwarili. Oni do nas po swojemu gwarili, ale oni chytro uczyli się i znali naszo gware.*

And in Sołonec [Rom. Solonețu Nou] people always spoke the [Polish] dialect in the street; I remember, always the dialect; and we also spoke the dialect with our Ukrainians from Majdan [Rom. Maidan, part of Solonețu Nou]. They spoke their dialect to us but they learned fast and they knew our dialect.

JP\_1952

*Jak chodził ja do szkoły to ja už po polsku mało, a po rumuńsku, trochę tam Ukraińców było to tak ja znał wszystko.*

When I started school I didn't speak much Polish any longer; I spoke Romanian; there were some Ukrainians there and I knew everything.

### 4.3 Young Adulthood

#### Home Language

OH\_1953

*Gwarili my, gwarili po sołonczańsku.*

We spoke the [Polish] dialect; we spoke "Sołonec speech" (*po sołonczańsku*).

JP\_1952

*Polski w domu był, jak mama i tato rozmawiali, to tak i po polsku.*

The language at home was Polish; like my mother and father, we spoke Polish.

#### Language of Further Education / Military Service

OH\_1953

*Poszłem do wojska w 1973, w Caracal koło Craiova. Mowilo się po rumunsku we wojsku. Wszaje po rumunsku. Nie miałem z kim po polsku.*

I went to the army in 1973; [I served] in Caracal near Craiova. We spoke Romanian in the army; everything was in Romanian. There was no one to talk to in Polish.

JP\_1952

*W Radowcach [dalsza szkoła po rumuńsku]. A potem poszedłem do wojska. Z wojska przyszedłem, i w domu czuła była za pięć czy dziesięć dni [zapisać się w gminie], to by to wojsko zaszło na rentę. No i poszedłem na to, jeszcze pracowałem rok do Braszowa wyjechałem. I tam pracowałem dwadzieścia i siedem lat, po rumuńsku da.*

In Radowce [Rom. Rădăuți] [I continued my school in Romanian]. And then I went to the army. I came back from the army and in the next five or ten days I had to [register with the local authorities] so that my service would count for my pension. I did that; I worked for one more year and I went to Braszów [Rom. Brașov]. I worked there for twenty-seven years; in Romanian, *da* [Rom. *yes*].

#### Language of Religion

OH\_1953

*Jak we wojsku byłem to miał jech ksionżeczke do modlitwy po polsku od babci co jech dostał. A kapitan to mi zabroł. Robili kontrol i zabierali, bo to była rzecz co nie było wolno trimać. Choć nie wiedział co tam pisze, to zabierol.*



When I was in the army I had a prayer book in Polish I got from my granny. And my captain took it away. There was a check and they took it away because it was something you weren't allowed to keep. Even though he didn't know what's written there he took it away.

JP 1952

*Byłem daleko w Rumunii i tak po nocach polskie modlitwy sobie mówiłem.*

I was far away in Romania and I said prayers in Polish at night.

## Language of the Environment

OH 1953

*Jak my zamieszkali w mieście w Suczawie to z sumsiadami my gwarili po romunsku, a w robocie to tak samo po romunsku. Od 75 mieszkam w mieście, bo tu pracowałem, siedziałem na kwaterie. To wszaje po romunsku.*

When we moved to town, to Suczawa [Rom. Suceava], we spoke Romanian with neighbours and it was the same at work – Romanian. I've lived in town since 1975; I worked here; I live here; it's been all in Romanian.

JP 1952

*W Braşowie w wojsku po rumuńsku, wszędzie gdzie byłem po rumuńsku. No w domu po polsku było.*

In the army in Braşov [Rom. Braşov], it was Romanian; anywhere I was it was Romanian. But at home it was Polish.

## 4.4 Adult Life

### Home Language

OH 1953

*W domu to z żoną po polsku, nic po rumuńsku, nic, z teściową tak samo, ale tam troszku kiedyś coś, ale w domu, jak chcesz, rozmawiasz. Pobralimy się w 1980 rok w kościele katolickim w Ickanach w Suczawie. Ten duży kościół w Suczawie był w remoncie. Żona polska, Polka.*

*Się radzi* [a phrase used by Poles in Bulai]. *No, tak, „się radzi” się te mówić chcę z kim rozmawiać to poradzimy sobie. A radzić coś insze po polsku jest w Soločce. Poradzmy się, jak zrobimy to rzecz co to. Nie, my w języku polskim rozmawiali, po polsku rozmawiają dzieci, oprócz takich różnych tych słów, po polsku czysto. A jak ja się uczyłem po polsku, to radzili my się po polsku [z żoną], a jak spotykamy się z moimi kolegami, z nimi gwarime no tak jak w Soločcu. [...] Dzieci jak przychodziły ze szkoły, nie raz tam rozmawiali po rumuńsku. No i nie było wolno w domu się po polski, oni jak się z małych małych dzieci po polsku. Swój język, a my nie chcemy swój język stracić, bo taki dalszy ciąg. Mówie, że na dzieci to daje, jak w domu się nie rozmawia po polsku, kaput, ni ma!*

At home I speak Polish with my wife, nothing in Romanian, nothing; and it's been the same with my mother-in-law; well, sometimes it's been a bit different, but at home you speak as you want. We got married in 1980 at the Catholic church in Ickany [Rom. Iţcani] in Suczawa [Rom. Suceava]. The big church in Suczawa was under renovation. My wife is Polish, she's a Pole.

*Się radzi* [a phrase used by Poles in Bulai, Pol. Bulaj]. Yes, that's right; *się radzi* means that you want to talk to someone, to have a chat; then you would say *poradzimy sobie* [we'll have a chat]. And *radzić* means something different in Polish in Soločec [Rom. Soloneţu Nou]; *poradzmy się* [let's get advice on] how to do this or that. But we spoke Polish; our children speak Polish; except some words, you know, it's pure Polish. And when I learned Polish, we spoke Polish [with my wife]; and when we meet my friends we speak the dialect, like in Soločec. [...] When our children used to come back from school they would sometimes speak Romanian. And they weren't allowed – you speak Polish at home; they have spoken Polish since they were very little. It's our language

and we don't want to lose it because that's what's going to happen. I mean, it has an effect on children if you don't speak Polish at home – it's *kaput*, it's gone!

JP\_1952

*Żona pochodzi z Jassy, kilka lat czekała tam, abyś czekała na najładnego Polaka z Bukowiny. Lubi po polsku i mówi: „trzymajcie się, fajnie jest u was”. Żona rozumi po polsku, a nie mówi, nie. Przyszedł do mnie Filip, Paulina i się śmiali po polsku, no żona mówi, i ja wim po polsku i powiedziała jedno takie co jest śmieszne. Ożenił się ja w 1981 roku.*

My wife is from Jassy [Rom. Iași]; she waited there for a few years as if she was waiting for the most handsome Pole of Bukovina. She likes Polish and she says “keep strong, it's really great there”. She understands Polish but she doesn't speak it, no. One day Filip and Paulina came over and they joked in Polish; and my wife says “I know Polish” and she said something that was funny. I got married in 1981.

## Language of Religion

OH\_1953

*No jak do Szołńca pojechałeś to po polsku, na Bulaju to tak różnie, no a my do Suczawy już zachodzili, no to po rumuńsku było, no było i po polsku, bo księża byli Polakami.*

Well, if you went to [Mass in] Sołonec [Rom. Solonețu Nou], it was in Polish; in Bulaj [Rom. Bulai] it was in Polish sometimes. But we already went to [Mass in] Suczawa [Rom. Suceava], so it was in Romanian; well, there was also Mass in Polish because the priests were Polish.

JP\_1952

*Różne polskie znamy „Do szopki hej pasterze”, „Wśród nocnej ciszy” tak po polski kolendują. Sztery dziewczynki i ja i było to dwa tygodnie. No i zakolendowali my „Nowy Rok bieży” i zrobili my jak się kolenduje tu.*

We know various Polish Christmas carols, “*Do szopki hej pasterze*” [“Come, Shepherds, to the Stable”], “*Wśród nocnej ciszy*” [“In Midnight's Silence”]. Four girls and me – we went around carolling for two weeks; we sang “*Nowy Rok bieży*” [“New Year is Coming”] and we went around carolling the way it's done here.

## Language of the Environment

OH\_1953

*No w Suczawie to wszaje po romunsku, z kim gdzie, z sumsiadami to po romunsku.*

Well, in Suczawa [Rom. Suceava] it's everywhere in Romanian, with everyone; we speak Romanian with neighbours.

JP\_1952

*Rumunia i to już po rumuńsku, nie ma co, u nas Wikszany Polacy jeszcze po polsku, ale już pobrali dużo Rumunów i po rumuńsku, tak jak u mnie w domu.*

It's Romania, so we speak Romanian; what can you do? Here, in Wikszany [Rom. Vicșani], Poles still speak Polish but many of them are married to Romanians and speak Romanian at home, like me.

## 4.5 Period of Retirement

### Home Language

OH\_1953

*My od poczontku w domu rozmawiali po polsku. Dzieci nauczyli sie w gredinicy po romunsku, w przedszkolie. Syn to nie wiedziol po romunsku. A córka, maj mała, to już mowiło po romunsku. We've always spoken Polish at home. Our children learned Romanian at gredinica [Rom. grădinița], kindergarten. Our son didn't know Romanian, but our daughter was very little when she spoke it already.*

JP\_1952

*No po rumuńsku w domu potem dzieci małe i z żoną. No córka zna polski, tak śpiewa. Czego tam mówi to, „bo tatko wielkim Polakiem jest”. No a córka mówi „mój tato jest w parlamencie”, nie, jak mamy te zebrania w Suczawie w Domu Polskim.*

[We spoke] Romanian at home with my wife and when the children were little. My daughter knows Polish, she can sing great. And the things she says, like “you're a great Pole, dad”. And she says “my dad is at the parliament”, you know, when we have our meetings at the *Dom Polski* in Suczawa [Polish Cultural Centre in Suceava].

## Language of Religion

OH\_1953

*Taraz w Suczawie msza jest po romunsku. A w niedziele jedna niedziela jest po polsku, a druga po niemiecku, dla Niemców, i tak sie powtorio. Poliaczy to najwincej na polskie, albo jak kto może. Po polsku jest o siódmej i tricać, to jak kto wstanie. W Suczawie na msze polskiej po polsku, a na romunskiej to po romunsku. A jak mamy koncerty, to śpiewamy i po niemiecku, i po polsku, i po rumuńsku. A na mszach to sie śpiwo po polsku na polskiej. Ksiądz jest Romun w Suczawie.*

Mass in Suczawa [Rom. Suceava] is in Romanian these days. And on Sundays there is Mass in Polish one week and in German the other, for Germans, and it alternates like that. Poles mostly go to Mass in Polish if they can; it's at 7:30 am, so it depends if you get up. In Suczawa [we pray and sing] in Polish at Polish Mass and in Romanian at Romanian Mass. And when we have concerts we sing in German, in Polish and in Romanian. And at Polish Masses we sing in Polish. The priest in Suczawa is Romanian.

JP\_1952

*A księdza mamy Polaka. Tu jest filiala Wikszany, parafia w Serecie. Mała mała parafia. Powiedziołem księdzowi po polsku odprawiać, tera w niedzieli będzie po rumuńsku i będzie po polsku, bo przychodzą dużo z Suczawy, z Radowiec.*

And our priest is Polish. Wikszany [Rom. Vicșani] is a filial church of Seret [Rom. Siret] parish; a small, very small parish. I told the priest he should say Mass in Polish and now there's going to be Sunday Mass in Romanian and in Polish because there are many people coming here from Suczawa, from Radowce [Rom. Suceava, Rădăuți].

## Language of the Environment

OH\_1953

*Z kim w jakim języku, kiedy i do kogo, tak ogólnie, spotykam się z Moary to po polsku, a ze Sołonca to gwarim, a jak z Romunem to po romunsku i tak dalej. Do rodziny jak wim ze gwarim po naszymu to po naszymu gwarimy. No to do siostry, wnuka, do dzieci, do żony, do teściowej, do kolegów ze Sołonca, albo do naszych z Pojany, z Pleszy, jachto wim, że po polsku to po polsku gwarimy.*

What language I speak to whom; when and to whom; well, in general, when I meet someone from Moara, we speak Polish; and if it's someone from Sołonec [Rom. Solonețu Nou], we speak the dialect; and if it's a Romanian person, we speak Romanian, and so on. With my family or people I know can speak our dialect, we talk in the dialect – my sister, my grandson, my children, my

wife, my mother-in-law, my friends from Soloniec or our folk from Pojana or from Plesza [Rom. Poiana Micului, Pleșa]; if I know that someone speaks Polish, we speak Polish.

JP\_1952

*Pominiali te familji bo to Rumunia i pominiali imie. Sztery kilometry było strasznie dużo Niemców w Bajeńcach. Jedna była Polka, to dwa lata jak umarła. Polacy z Niemcami się żenili dawno. Ja znaju fajne szpiwanki ukraiński i rozmawiać też. Tak sam tako nauczywsia. Tam żyje siostra mamina gdowa, mama tego Kilara gdowa, ona żona prezesa gdowa to mało tych co po polsku mówi.*

They changed their surnames because it's Romania and they changed their names. There were lots of Germans living in Bajeńce [Rom. Baineț], four kilometres from here. There was a Polish woman there, she died two years ago. Poles used to marry Germans for a long time. I know great songs in Ukrainian, and I can speak it, too. I learned it on my own, like that. My mother's sister lives there; she's a widow; she's Kilar's mother, the chairman's widow; there are very few people who speak Polish.

#### 4.6 Polish–Romanian Bilingualism: The Case of Informant OH\_1953

Informant OH\_1953 inherited the local dialect of Polish Bukovinian highlanders from his parents and grandparents. This dialect – used by the inhabitants of the village of Solonețu Nou (Pol. Nowy Soloniec) and still spoken there today – is of great symbolic value to him; he repeated this several times: *to nasz język; my Polacy mamy swój język; to nasza najdroższa gwara polska; to, co nas rodzice nauczyli to najdroższe, gwara i wiara* ('it's our language'; 'we, Poles, we have our language'; 'it's our most precious Polish speech'; 'what our parents taught us is the dearest: the language and faith'). The local dialect of Polish is his first language. He learned general Polish at school in Solonețu Nou and has perfected it since 1990 as he is in contact with his family in Poland and often goes there. His daughter completed her studies in Poland. His statements are careful, thought-out and conscious. His language awareness is very high: he feels Polish precisely because he speaks Polish. His attitude to the Romanian language is positive – it is the official language and, as he says, this is the language that you need to use in spheres related to public administration, in health service, in shops, and when dealing with official matters.

The informant learned and perfected his Romanian at school in Solonețu Nou, and later on at lower secondary and music schools in Suceava. From 1969 he attended vocational school there, also with Romanian as the language of instruction, and did his practical training in Botoșani. After two years he changed his line of occupation from construction to turnery; he attended a course in turning (in Romanian) in the town of Codlea near Brașov (Transylvania) for a year. He did his military service in 1973–1974 in Caracal in southern Romania; the language of communication in the army was Romanian. When he completed his term of service, he found employment in a factory in Codlea. In 1975 he moved to Suceava, where he worked as a turner. In 1980 he married a woman from Bulai (Pol. Bulai), who is also of Polish descent; they have two grown-up children, a son and a daughter. To this day, Informant OH speaks Polish and Romanian; he can also read and sing in these languages. His language of prayer has mainly been Polish; later in life he has also prayed in Romanian (mainly in the church in Suceava). His passion is playing the accordion; he has been involved in the activities of the folk group "Solonczanka" from its very beginning. During their rehearsals and performances, he mainly uses dialectal Polish.

For Informant OH it was important that his future wife would also be from the Polish community so that their Polish identity and language would survive in the Romanian-speaking environment; for example: *Mówię, że na dzieci to daje, jak w domu się nie rozmawia po polsku, kaput, ni ma!* ('I mean, it has an effect on children if you don't speak Polish at home – it's *kaput*, it's gone!'). He tries to read as much as he can, books and newspapers, both in Polish and in Romanian.

It cannot pass unremarked that that he deliberately used a Romanian word and explained it when talking about how he first went to school without knowing the language at all: *Wiedziotem*

*jacy „poftim”, to znaczy ‘proszę’ po rumuńsku, cf. Rom. poftim, Pol. proszę ‘there you go’ (‘I only knew poftim, it means “there you go” in Romanian’). Likewise, he deliberately used the word “kindergarten” in Romanian when talking about the first language of his children: *My od poczontku w domu rozmawiali po polsku. Dzieci nauczyli sie w gredinicy po romunsku, w przedszkole*, cf. Rom. grădiniță, Pol. przedszkole ‘kindergarten’ (‘We’ve always spoken Polish at home. Our children learned Romanian at gredinica, kindergarten’).*

The Polish spoken by Informant OH displays all the typical features of the local dialect of Polish Bukovinian highlanders, which are discussed in the study *Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa* [A Testimony to a Vanishing Heritage] mentioned above (Krasowska et al., 2018, pp. 84–96). It is worth noting that his idiolect includes the feature known as mazuration (Pol. *mazurzenie*, the realisation of the alveolar series *ś, ż, ć, ź* as dental consonants *s, z, c, ʒ*), for example: *Gerwazy to jest niemieckie może włoskie nie, bo moja babcia to w ten cas [...]* (‘Gerwazy is a German name or perhaps Italian, isn’t it, because at the time my grandmother [...]’) – as pronounced by the informant, the initial consonant in the word *czas* ‘time’ is *c* (which sounds like *z* in the German noun *Zeit*) rather than *ć* (which sounds like *ch* in the English word “chess”). Another feature of his idiolect is the palatal *l’*, for example: *Ojciec [...] przyszedł z liagru w Rosji, w Leningradzie* – nom. sing. *liagier, Leningrad*, cf. Standard Polish (hereafter St. Pol.) *łagier* ‘Soviet camp’, *Leningrad* (‘My father [...] came back from a camp in Russia, in Leningrad’). He also uses the vowel *o* instead of *u*, for example: *po romunsku*, cf. St. Pol. *po rumuńsku* ‘in Romanian’: *Jak jech poszeł do szkoły to słowa nie wiedziałem po romunsku. Rodzice wiedzieli po romunsku, ale my nie* (‘I didn’t know a single word in Romanian when I went to school. Our parents knew Romanian, but we didn’t’).

The informant’s dialectal Polish also includes borrowings from Romanian, for example: *Dostał fackę i potem na drugi dzień [...]*, cf. Rom. *față*, Pol. *twarz* ‘face’ (‘He got a smack on the face and then, on the next day [...]’); *A w szkole jak my szli na pause to po polsku*, cf. Rom. *paruză*, Pol. *przerwa* ‘break’ (‘At school, when we went out for a break we spoke Polish’).

Informant OH switches to Romanian consciously and without problems, as could be observed when he met his Romanian-speaking acquaintances. His level of Romanian is high and he consciously uses both codes depending on the interlocutor, the situation and the setting. What shaped his bilingualism was the use of dialectal Polish in his family home, his school education with Romanian as the language of instruction, his military service in the Romanian army, and then his marriage with a woman from the Polish community and the alternate use of the Polish dialect and the Romanian language on a daily basis.

#### 4.7 Polish–Romanian Bilingualism: The Case of Informant JP\_1952

Informant JP\_1952 has a strong sense of Polish identity, which is conditioned by two factors: religion and language. He inherited the Polish language from his parents, as he did the customs and traditions that had been practised in his home village of Vicșani (Pol. Wikszany). Writing about this village, Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk notes: “Teaching Polish was finally suspended in Ruda [Vicșani] in 1957. As one inhabitant of the village recalled, there had been no Polish at school since then at all. At the time, the teacher who originally came from the region of Oltenia [in southern Romania] even forbade speaking Polish in the street” (Stempel-Gancarczyk, 2020, p. 167). This explains why Informant JP could not learn Polish at school – his language of instruction was Romanian and he had no Polish classes. His wife is Romanian and they speak Romanian at home. However, his daughter speaks Polish, but she learned it in language courses and in the course of her studies in Bucharest. As it is today, Informant JP is one of few speakers of dialectal Polish in Vicșani.

Considering the Polish spoken by this informant, several dialectal phonetic features can be observed. One of them is the use of *g* instead of *k*, e.g. *Wielganoc* ‘Easter’, *wielgi* ‘huge’, cf. St. Pol. *Wielkanoc*, *wielki*. Also, his *h* is voiced rather than voiceless, a feature typical of dialectal Ukrainian, e.g. *Różne polskie znamy „Do szopki hej pasterze”* (‘We know various Polish Christmas

carols, “Do szopki hej pasterze” [Come, Shepherds, to the Stable]). Another phonetic feature worth noting is the use of *s* instead of *c* (the latter pronounced as mentioned above), e.g. *smentarz* ‘cemetery’, cf. St. Pol. *cmentarz*: ***Smentarz*** i u nas jest ***smentarz*** stary, a w Suczawie jest stary żydowski (‘We also have an old cemetery, and there is an old Jewish one in Suczawa [Rom. Suceava]’). In some contexts, he also uses *g* instead of *v* (conveyed in Polish using the letter *w*), e.g. *gdowa* ‘widow’, cf. St. Pol. *wdowa*: Tam żyje siostra mamina ***gdowa***, mama tego Kilara ***gdowa***, ona żona prezesa ***gdowa*** to mało tych co po polsku mówi. (‘My mother’s sister lives there; she’s a widow; she’s Kilar’s mother, the chairman’s widow; there are very few people who speak Polish’).

Other features of his speech include the frequent omission of *ł* (which sounds approximately like *w* in the English word “water”), for example: *poszed ja* ‘I went’, here: ‘I started’, cf. St. Pol. *poszedłem*: Jak ***poszed*** ja do szkoły, to ja nie znał po rumuńsku, wszystko po polsku (‘When I started school I didn’t know Romanian; everything in Polish’); *poszedem* ‘I went’, *przyszedem* ‘I arrived’, here: ‘I came back’, cf. St. Pol. *poszedłem, przyszedłem*: A potem ***poszedem*** do wojska. Z wojska ***przyszedem*** [...] (‘And then I went to the army. I came back from the army [...]); *przyszed* ‘arrived’, 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc., cf. St. Pol. *przyszedł*: Jakiś samochód ***przyszed*** z Bulaju do nich (‘A car arrived from Bulaj [Rom. Bulai] to their house’).

Informant JP also uses calques from Romanian and Romanian words, particularly in the case of dates and names of months, etc., for example: *Dwa tysionce. W ***septembrie***. Nie wim jak. Rok naprzód. Czczeciego roku. Tak, czzczeciego roku. ***Doue mi trej***. Dwa tysionc czszy*, cf. Rom. *Septembrie*, Pol. *wrzesień* ‘September’; Rom. *două mii și trei*, Pol. *dwa tysiące trzeci* (ordinal number) ‘two thousand and three’ (‘Two thousand; in *septembrie*; I don’t know how to... The year before. Three; yes, three. *Doue mi trej*, two thousand and three’).

The proximity of the border with Ukraine and the fact that there were Ukrainians living in his home village explains why Informant JP also has a general command of colloquial Ukrainian. He knows Ukrainian folk songs and he can tell Ukrainian jokes. When asked whether he spoke it, he immediately switched the language to demonstrate that he did; for example: ***Sohodny i zawtra nazad***; *Ja znaju fajne szpiwanki ukraiński i rozmawiać też. Tak sam tako ***nauczysia****, cf. Ukr. *сьогодні, s’ohodni* ‘today’, *завтра, zavtra* ‘tomorrow’, *навчився, navchivsia* ‘I learned’ (‘Today, and back tomorrow’; ‘I know great songs in Ukrainian, and I can speak it, too. I learned it on my own, like that’).

The informant not only spoke Ukrainian when he was asked to do so – his idiolect also includes Ukrainian lexemes, both general and dialectal, e.g. *Nie wim, ***kilko*** miesiency miała; Żona pochodzi z Jass, ***kilko*** lat czekała tam, abyś czekała na najładnego Polaka z Bukowiny*, cf. dialectal Ukr. *кілько, kil’ko* ‘several, a few’ (‘I don’t know, she was a few months old’; ‘My wife is from Jassy [Rom. Iași]; she waited there for a few years as if she was waiting for the most handsome Pole of Bukovina’). His dialectal lexicon includes borrowings from Ukrainian, particularly the names of dishes and items of daily use, e.g. *Przyszli kobiety dawali ***haluszki*** tam; Szkatulke ***siarników*** nima dzie kupić*, cf. Ukr. *зачуку, halushky* ‘stuffed cabbage rolls’ (Pol. *gołąbki*); *укачулка цірників, shkatulka sirnykiv* ‘box of matches’ (Pol. *paczka zapalek*) (‘Some women came over and gave us *halushki*’; ‘There’s nowhere to buy even a box of matches’).

The intergenerational transmission of Polish was interrupted in the family when the informant married a Romanian woman. Since then, their home language has been Romanian, which also serves all other spheres of their everyday life. In mixed marriages it has always been very difficult to maintain a minority language and continue speaking it at home. This is also related to the gradual abandonment of minority culture, cuisine, traditional clothes, customs and so on. The informant uses Romanian in everyday communication, as Polish is only spoken by the oldest inhabitants of Vicșani, mostly when they meet in front of the local church. The number of Polish speakers in the village is small and is decreasing every year. Members of the middle generation of Poles living there do not use the Polish dialect, and the youngest ones do not know it at all. Informant JP is one of the few speakers of the Polish dialect in Vicșani; he is the chairman of

the Polish association in the village and serves as a sacristan in the local church. He performs important functions, trying to preserve Polishness in this locality.

In her study devoted to the local dialects of Polish in Bukovina, Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk observes as follows:

In the case of Ruda [Viçşani], we can speak of the advanced stage of the process of decline of the dialect. There is no intergenerational transmission of the dialect there, and the number of its users is systematically decreasing. Among the communities I have studied, it is Ruda that in the coming decades will be the first to experience the phenomenon referred to as the death of a language, the departure of the last speakers of the Ruda dialect; it will be followed by the communities of Mihoveny and Frumosa [Rom. Mihoveni, Frumoasa]. (Stempel-Gancarczyk, 2020, p. 202)

Considering the domains of language use, the use of particular languages in particular spheres in different periods of the informants' lives is presented in the table below.

**Table 1.** The use of languages in particular domains: Informant OH\_1953 and Informant JP\_1952.

Age / Period of development	Domains of language use	Informant OH_1953 Solonețu Nou (Pol. Nowy Sólonec)	Informant JP_1952 Viçşani (Pol. Wikszany)
<b>Under 6</b> <b>Preschool period</b>	Official language	Romanian	Romanian
	Home language	Polish	Polish
	Language of religion	Polish	Polish
	Language of the environment	Polish	Polish
<b>7–16/17</b> <b>School period</b>	Official language	Romanian	Romanian
	Home language	Polish	Polish
	Scholl language	Polish, Romanian Russian	Romanian
	Language of religion	Polish	Polish
	Language of the environment	Romanian	Romanian, Polish Ukrainian
<b>18–25</b> <b>Young adulthood</b>	Official language	Romanian	Romanian
	Home language	Polish	Polish
	Language of further education / military service	Romanian	Romanian
	Language of religion	Polish	Polish
	Language of the environment	Romanian	Romanian
<b>25–60</b> <b>Adult life</b>	Official language	Romanian	Romanian
	Home language	Polish	Polish
	Language of religion	Polish	Polish
	Language of the environment	Polish, Romanian	Romanian, Polish
<b>Over 60</b> <b>Retirement</b>	Official language	Romanian	Romanian
	Home language	Polish	Romanian
	Language of religion	Polish, Romanian	Polish, Romanian
	Language of the environment	Romanian, Polish	Romanian, Polish

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